1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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we circumcised those young men. That blood made her sick." One old man spoke up and said, "That blood made her sick. It makes women ill when they touch us after the Djungguan. It is the spirit in that blood that does this. It is the totem, not the wooden emblem, but the spirit inside with the power name. He is in that blood. A woman cannot touch it or it will make her sick." 753 826 784

Smaller rituals are performed by two or three individuals to cure someone who is ailing. Frequently women rub red ocher over their bodies because of an ailment, this being but an abbreviation of its use in the larger ceremonies. Red ocher string is tied around the head or body to cure a headache or abdominal pain. This act, too, is but a shortening of the ritual in which decorated string is placed around the head or body in the larger ceremonies. 755

Larger rituals are definitely used to remove pain. Certain parts of the Djungguan are designed to take away the pain from the boy who is being circumcised. The women relatives whip themselves in order to transfer the pain from the boy to themselves. The head of the boy's penis, they also say, is a turtle's head, so the cutting of the foreskin cannot hurt him since it is not his flesh being cut but that of the animal. These statements are also supposed to remove the pain from the boy. 785 826 831

Other rituals, which assure success in war, are demonstrably only elaborated magical practices. The gaingar spears represent the head of the Dua and Yiritja moieties. The souls of the dead of the moieties are supposed to be in each weapon. The ceremonial throwing of the spears to assure the killing of an enemy and to prevent the killing of their own men is definitely of a magical nature, the power of these ceremonies depending upon the souls' clustering around the spear just as the power of the magical killing stick depends upon the souls which cluster about its point. 778 789 775

The bone magic ceremony used in the maringo fighting (see Chapter VI, "Warfare") is also an elaborate ceremony focused upon the magical idea of the soul's being associated with a bone relic. In earlier parts of this chapter the individual treats the bone in a ceremonial way to practice his magic against his enemies. Both the gaingar and the maringo ceremony from one point of view are elaborate magical practices participated in by the group and led by the ceremonial or war leader.

All the rituals, particularly the Narra, which celebrates the ascendancy of the clan totem, are commonly used to purify the group of 751 783

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their shoulders, the women carrying bunches of leaves in each hand have been dancing around the grass where the boys are to be cut.

3. When the men appear in camp with the boys there is a short period of considerable excitement and seeming confusion. The men continue crying out and march to the camp dance ground where the grass and leaves are and where the warngaitja was placed. By this time the grass has become dry, and if it has been disturbed more grass has been added. It has been placed there so that no blood from the circumcision operation can fall on the ground, for it is believed that the child operated on would become ill if this happened. After the circumcision the blood-stained grass is buried or burned. Before the circumcision and while preparing the boys, the crowd divides into two halves which call out like wild geese (this is also a part of the Narra totemic ceremony), while the leader cries out the common names of the totemic emblems:

"Gun-bor! gun-bor! (no meaning)
Main-yir-pa (goose)
Gun-bor gun-bor
Dur-a-mul (fresh water from the clan well)
Gur-um-gur-um-bo (goose)
Birn-gi (holes left in the mud where the geese had been feeding in a swamp country)"

4. The men form a compact group with the little boys in the center. The women stand slightly at the side. Most of the latter are crying. They say they are sorry because those little boys are going to be hurt. When the cutting is actually taking place they say, "You boys are fish, you are kangaroo, you are turtle [or any other game animal], and all of you things go into this little boy's blood, and all of the blood must go down to his penis, so that it will be like cutting a turtle head or cutting a kangaroo's head off, and it won't hurt the boys." This is cried out loud, and the old men say that it helps the little boys to bear the pain. Sometimes the women carry bushes and whip themselves with them to bring all the pain from the boy to themselves. It is only the close relatives and members of the boys' own clans who cry for them or attempt to hurt themselves for the boys' sake.

5. Two men lie down on their backs. Each boy is given a shell of water and the contents are drunk so that his mouth will be wet when he is bidden to hold his basket between his teeth. It is the last drink

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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When these people had completed the *jelmalandji* emblem, they held another meeting "to think about the Wauwalak". "What are we going to do about the blood of those two women?" they asked one another.

The most important ceremonial headman, named Nga:ti (that is, termite, sometimes called "meat" ant, who was responsible for revivifying the Wauwalak), stood up; grasping the blade of his stone-spear, he cut his arm and let the blood flow out. "We make ourselves like those two women", he said.

Then other men got up; while some cut a vein inside the elbow, others cut the inner part of their forearm above the wrist, and all tied ligatures about their upper arms. This is a substitute for re-opening the penis incisure to obtain a flow of blood similar to that of the Mother Kunapipi: it should be remembered that a great deal of the original Kunapipi ritual concerns subincising groups.

As they let the blood flow they said, "Ah, very good: that is the blood of the 'Spring' Women (that is, afterbirth blood and the menstruation)".

"And what shall we do for the Snake's 'shout' (that is, the sound made by the Julunggul)?" they asked.

They built another *jelmalandji*, larger than the first, to represent the Julunggul who swallowed the Wauwalak. They smeared arm blood all over its surface, and on to it fastened wild cotton (or white feather down) to form a pattern symbolizing the Snake. "But it makes no sound", they said. "It is not like the Julunggul of the *djunggawon*, that when blown makes the sound of the Snake; nor is it like the great *nwar* which 'cries out' when beaten. What shall we do?"

So they took a clean piece of wood, from the tree which the Julunggul had split by lightning (see previous chapter), and marked it with the Snake design. They obtained human hair cord, and threaded it through the hole they had bored at one end of the wooden slab. When they swung this object (the bullroarer), they could hear the sound of the Julunggul: "this is the different shout, for the Kunapipi side".

In this case, too, contrary information exists: and this bullroarer for use in the Kunapipi is sometimes said to be the voice of Lu'ningu. Its sound then is a "little bit low", spasmodic and quick, for this Snake was full from having eaten so many young men, and he was tired. In the *ngu:rlmak* side, the sound of the bullroarer is longer and heavier, for the Julunggul had eaten only the Wauwalak and the child. In the eastern *ngu:rlmak* rituals, however, the bullroarer is not used, being reserved solely for the Kunapipi. Such confusion in the identification of fundamental ritual objects is not unusual in Aboriginal religion; and for our purpose here it is preferable perhaps to conform to the original version, in which the bullroarer is said to be

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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the mound piled beside the *ba'uma*. When the Wauwalak actors see the Snake, they act as if "they are shamed", here termed *g(w)o:ra'nganbinganbi*. They are "shamed" because they have the child, and their blood is running.[9]

When this dance is over, two *dua* men bring out a pole from the darkness of the bush beside the sacred ground, and hold it horizontally, waist-high from the ground, on the concave side of the *ba'uma*. Within the crescent trench lie the young boys, and on the opposite (the convex, though sometimes on the concave) side of the *ba'uma* the *jelmalandji* stand, held by two men. Then, to the ritual crying of all participants, the *jelmalandji* are pushed over so that they hit the pole and tumble to the ground. They are picked up, and pushed over again; this is repeated several times, until the feathered ornaments on top of the *jelmalandji* fall off. The Julunggul are falling over, after swallowing the Wauwalak.

Then the young boys are removed from the *ba'uma* and placed on the mound beside it, while the *jelmalandji* are put in their place. Fire-sticks are thrown into the *ba'uma*, to burn the grass and paperbark surrounding the central poles of the *jelmalandji*. At the same time men open their arm veins, sprinkling blood on one another and into the trench; this is the blood of the Wauwalak, and blood itself symbolizes life. Rows of dancing men come down the sacred ground and along the shallow trench, to and around the *ba'uma*, pushing the mound into the trench and gradually filling the hole, until the earth from dancing feet covers the *jelmalandji*, and the ground is flattened "so that no one will see that trench".

This completes the main section of the Kunapipi: the sequence of these rituals may be changed according to the inclination of the totemic leaders, or some may be omitted.

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This is followed by two concluding features: the ceremonial exchange of wives, and the return of the young boys into secular camp life. The latter always takes place at Yirrkalla; but local aborigines say that the former is less common, and it does not seem to be well integrated with indigenous social behaviour. Mission pressure has been brought to bear, in recent years, on the performance of the Kunapipi, and especially on ceremonial intercourse; but it is still practised at Milingimbi and Rose River, and away from white supervision on the settlements.

In other parts of the Territory where Kunapipi holds sway, and where "Big Sunday" is an integral part of native religious life, ceremonial copulation brings these rituals to a climax. It represents a

9. The word "shame" signifies "shyness", the normal feeling a menstruating woman feels towards a man who observes her blood. The European cultural connotation is lacking in this pidgin translation of the native term.